

Thank you, Ray. Vice presidents. Members of DRIVE directors. Well, all of the speeches of the vice presidents, the comments of Fay Presser I can add many things. One in particular, the fact that I travel coast to coast, speak at a meeting almost every single weekend from one to three meetings talking to rank and file members all over the United States, I agree that they are finally realizing that DRIVE is the salvation of their problems.

A week ago last Saturday we were in Dallas, Texas. About 106°F. We had an auditorium that was anticipating about 1500 people would be in attendance. Instead of that, 4200 people showed up. People who traveled as much as 600 miles round trip to come to that meeting and listen as to what was happening in the latest legislation. What could they do to prevent the loss of jobs? And what, if possible, would make DRIVE in their area more successful? As we discussed the matters concerning legislation from Washington and as we held our meetings after the meeting that all of the guests, members, and their wives attended we found that the CIO was in the audience. We found that over 82 of the retired members had made it their business to come, listen, and find out what they can do.

Now all over this United States as we've been talking about DRIVE we've had three holdbacks. One, and primarily, the local union officers. I have said this from the very beginning of DRIVE and I repeat it here tonight. Officers who are literally afraid of their own members. Officers who will hope and pray when they call a meeting there will be less than a quorum and they can adjourn without talking about the affairs of their unions. Individuals who for some unknown reason believe that the less membership participation the better their union is operating.

In addition to that, many of the individuals who never built an organization, who inherited an organization, who went on a payroll and a perk-full salary more than they did driving a truck, are trying by some unknown means to convince themselves that if you form a Ladies' Auxiliary that it will infiltrate into the operation your union and affect their possibilities of reelection. If they form a Men's Auxiliary and they delegate the authority to a director, that will become their competition. More and more, however, as the adverse decisions are coming out of the courts, as the adverse decisions are coming out of the labor board, and everything that we have been preaching since 1958 is gradually unfolding and becoming true, even worse than we predicted. Even more serious than we predicted. They are finally being alerted by the rank and file members of their own unions. As directors go into their areas, vice presidents visit the areas and talk to the membership, the membership is prodding and pushing and awakening the officers to the necessity of DRIVE.

Now, Gibbons has given you an outline as to what happens in Washington when the motorcades come in, women visit the congressmen, senators, but that is only half of the battle. The fact is that a few years ago – just a short few, a matter of three – you could have no more brought 100 senators and congressmen to our building at a given time than you could have lifted that building up and moved it to the Senate or the House. It's true they come in the back door, drive their car in, and look around to see if there was anybody watching or taking their picture. But when there is a meeting called in our

building today or whether it's called in a hotel they set aside every single appointment they have and attend that meeting, because the meetings that we are holding such as the one in Dallas, Texas brought for the first time in the history of Texas four important men that never in their life ever sat down with a Teamsters Union official. A two-and-a-half-hour discussion as to how to bring their organization in and working in conjunction with the Teamsters Union. And if I told you some of those names that found it possible to go away from their business, their empires, and come up to that cabana, sit and talk and ask for more time than they allotted them to discuss politics, you would be surprised. But they are beginning to realize what's happening.

And this strange story was told to me as to how far it's really reaching into other areas we don't suspect. A certain fella was just released from prison. This individual was – before he was released from prison was pulled into the warden's office and the warden handed him a DRIVE – current DRIVE report and said that he had just returned from Washington D.C. where there was a meeting of the top government officials, and that the top government officials who attended that meeting has passed out the DRIVE report to everybody in that attendance and requested that they go back into their areas, investigate, and make a full and complete factual report as to the numerical strength of DRIVE, the financial strength of DRIVE, and exactly what the plans were in their area.

Now, this is an indication that the administration is finally realizing and beginning to understand that this isn't something that was built up as a publicity gimmick, built up to louse up the markets, built up to louse up the Kennedy administration, but rather they're beginning to realize that this is going to be a firm, solid, arm of the International Union. Not temporarily but permanently. So solid that they're beginning to understand as people arrive into Washington and are alluding to the present condition pertaining to bills that are virtually affecting their communities that they can no longer hide the discussions of their actions in that community. And I think Odell Smith can tell you that certainly John McClellan is not a friend of ours, but by the same token, when the DRIVE ladies came into there and made their report and discussed with him the problems that he was more impressed, to the extent that he made it his business to go back down to that neighborhood and inquire as to really what is he getting into? What's opposing him? What is it all about?

Now, out of that meeting and out of all the meetings that come there politicians are gathering around and discussing one word: DRIVE. Not the AF of L-CIO's organization. Because primarily they realize that those who are the head of \_\_\_\_\_ are still seeking something for themselves in the way of an appointment, or if not for themselves an appointment for a friend. And not for the sole purpose of passing legislation that's good for America. And out of all of this, and as we continue these meetings we will progress to the point that we will be able to handle legislation in such a way that it will die upon the presentation of the Teamsters' position concerning that particular bill.

As an example, the Bonner Bill was touted all over the United States. Touted as a bill that was to control the strikes on the Great Lakes, river ways, and the oceans. Testimony was taken place by four international unions who handle the seafaring members of organized

labor. None of them was successful in penetrating into the Congress until such time as we finally appeared there and presented our story. And as we presented our story to the \_\_\_\_\_ we were successful – without going into detail – after two solid days of testimony, more than all of the organized labor put together in the United States had testified against that bill. Not just conversation, not just propaganda, but actual factual situations. We were successful and received the full credit of the chairman of that committee of killing the Bonner bill. This wasn't Hoffa or Zagri that attended there. It was the fact that we represented the force back home who we were able to call almost in a 24-hour session and secure information to offset statements of the congressmen who were in that meeting and to be able to factually prove to them that the propaganda that had been put into their hands in the way of questions and the reasons as to why the Bonner bill should pass was just nonsense and the membership back home wouldn't stand for it.

In one example out of the burst of generosity one of the congressmen said, "Well, all I can tell you is we may have to take over some of the businesses you have contracts with." I said, "Congressman, my experience with you fellas, you couldn't run a tent. A pop-up tent. Because if you run the United States as a business the way you run this Congress we'd be bankrupt in 90 days." I pointed out some of the things that we knew had happened in their operations and pointed out that we were reporting it back to our membership. And after that there wasn't a single congressman that popped up with any more smart aleck ideas but sat there, listened, and finally the bill was dead.

When we testified on the question of the bonding issue Reynolds, Secretary Reynolds, the undersecretary, was there. And they conducted the meeting for five straight days prior to us coming there, and everybody bowed and scraped and jumped around with him, trying to coax him not to do it. We decided to take a direct approach and we did. We went in front of the committee and accused them that they were in cahoots with the people in the bonding company. And when we accused them in such a way that they couldn't respond to it because it was factual – a ten-page document, not guesswork but a recapitulation of statements of the very individuals who were trying to pass that law through, and we pointed out to them what it meant back to our joint councils, our organizations around the country, and told them quite frankly we were going to send a written report to every single council and member in the country of what was happening and what they were trying to do to rank and file officers. When we adjourned the meeting the same individuals came around the table in a hurry and said, "Now, just a moment. Don't get excited. Don't mail out that material. Nothing's gonna happen here. We'll cancel the meetings."

Now, again, it wasn't Hoffa. It was the fact that they did not want to have sent back into the districts and the individuals who they are responsible for for their appointment that they were doing in Washington. And that's DRIVE. Because if you can get 100 women, 200 women in any given city to start calling in 10, 12, 15 people in each one of their neighborhoods, there isn't a senator or a congressman that wants to buck that kind of an operation. And that's why we have to have DRIVE. Not to give you fellas a job sitting here. Not to give you any extra work. But unless we have DRIVE you're not going to have a job. Unless we have DRIVE you're not going to have any membership. And if you

don't have a job and don't have membership you will have in this country another 1932. And it's even a question whether you can prevent that temporarily.

And so, DRIVE is an absolute must. It doesn't make any difference whether I travel every Saturday and Sunday across the United States talking to somebody, talking to a group of workers, because this is part of my responsibility. But there is no value in me traveling every Saturday and every Sunday talking to a group of people if when I leave you simply call it a day, fold up, and do nothing to follow through. I talked last week – Friday in Cleveland in the evening, Saturday morning to the rank and file, Saturday afternoon to the picnic that the joint council in Cleveland had, back across over into South Bend holding a meeting, and back over into Chicago. Now, all of that is all right. It's a long, tiring situation. Nobody minds it. But if we're going to lead and Norman Merk, joint council over in Cleveland, drops it, then I just wasted a weekend.

Gibbons just came in from the coast. There's no value of Gibbons getting on an airplane, 6:00 in the morning, flying out to the opposite coast, holding a meeting at night, 10:00 at night, jump on an airplane, fly all night, and come back into Chicago, if when he leaves Los Angeles, again, Jack Hannon drops it and nothing happens. And so it's your responsibility, your absolute flat responsibility if you want to remain at this International Union or you want to remain in organized labor to work as you've never worked before in organizing DRIVE, putting together the necessary combinations of members, wives, and friends that will give you the respect in your neighborhood, your community, your precinct, your district, that will give us the right to represent you in Washington.

Money is a problem. I don't know. I've been in this union 33 years and I can remember the day right at this very time when none of us had \$6.00. Many of us came in here on trucks because we didn't have the money to come in here even by a bus. And we attended meetings, held meetings in the city of Chicago and built a tremendous organization that you fellas, 95 percent of you are now reaping the benefit of. And as we gradually built our organization the local unions had no money. And when you had a meeting such as this and you needed to raise money there wasn't any hesitancy. Money came out that they didn't have to give. Yet today, when men are drawing \$200.00, \$300.00, \$400.00 a week as business agents, as officers they're too cheap, to misunderstanding to spend \$1,000.00 a year – \$500.00 a year. Now, if your job isn't worth \$500.00 to \$1,000.00 a year you ought to go back to the truck and mind your own business. And I say this advisedly because I'm telling you what Hal said about my paycheck, he was making a joke, but I'll tell you it's no joke when Hoffa winds up without even seeing the paycheck, and that's what he's doing to me now. And I don't mind it. I don't mind it if I know that it's going for what I believe it is, to build DRIVE to the point that we're not going to have everything that we fought for for the last 30-odd years go down the drain in 1965.

Now, a lot of people traveling around the county say, "Look, you told us there were going to be some bills." Now, you cannot \_\_\_\_\_ impress upon people what is happening in Congress. What are the Kennedys doing? How are they avoiding the publicity, the bombardment that should be taking place with organized labor? All they do is introduce a bill, not one but a flock of bills, every one of them with one paragraph or one section that

they want. And then, when they go into hearings or hold meetings they hammer away on the whole bill but they finally compromise one single line. And then they put together a half a dozen bills in joint committee and they get exactly what they started out in the back of their mind that they really wanted and threw away what they never wanted in the first place.

Now, there are nine bills, nine bills in the House and the Senate that any one of a combination of can put these unions out of business. Not our union but every union in the United States. Nine bills. Every one of those bills has a number from last year – not this year. 1962 numbers on those bills. And they will get priority every single year that they stay in committee. Everybody knows that's got any sense that they never intended to pass the bill in '62. They don't intend to pass the bill in '63. They wouldn't dare pass the bill in '64. But you let them get entrenched for four more years and you will have every one of those bills, the particular section they intended in the first place to become a consolidated bill. And out of that House, out of that Senate will come a bill that will put you into the antitrust law, will make compulsory arbitration and grievances as well as wages, that will hamstring you in organizing more so than any state rule or regulation or law that you ever heard of in the United States.

I wonder sometimes if some of you fellas can read. I sometimes wonder if our own membership can read. Because when you look at a bill and you find a House bill or a Senate bill and you find four or five pages – and we put it down in front of people – I watch them take the bill and read it; I wonder what the devil they're reading. I can't read it that fast. Or I see them run their finger down. Now, what do you think they're running their finger down for? To see whether or not it mentions their particular craft. If it don't mention their craft, "Well, it don't mean me, so it can't be any harm." And he lets it go.

Yet when we give it to a lawyer or we give it to somebody to analyze they sit and take every single line – and that's why they're numbered – every single line to determine where is the key? What's the hook in the bill? What can they afford to give away and what are they trying to keep? And I can't read one of those bills in less than 30 minutes and I think I read pretty good, I don't know. Yet I see our top people out in the field reading it that quickly and handing it back and saying, "Well, it wouldn't go through in 100 years."

Now, what they don't understand or don't want to recognize is that it was never intended to pass the way you read it. One lone line out of six bills can mean the difference between being in business and out of business with the law, because when they get that Senate and House committee together and they make a composite bill out of all the companion bills, that's where the work is done, right in that committee. And invariably, when that bill is reported out and it's a bill reported out with a great majority of the committee it's going to go through that House and Senate just like that.

Now, that's what you have to teach the business agents. That's what you have to spell out to your members. And that's what you have to understand. There is a bill that got through the Senate last year that the most skillful lawyer, Sid Zagri, and people that we hired to

watch those bills went through the House, the Senate without an opposing vote and it could put any one of you in jail for 20 years, and everybody thought that it was a bill that had something to do with blowing up airplanes. You recall the hysteria: Set off an airplane bomb, kill all the people. The hysteria in the Congress. Bang, bang, bang, bills went overnight. And out of all of those bills that went into there they put one simple line in there: "Any interference with interstate commerce." Everybody just said, "Well, that just must mean they're going to blow up an airplane." There's been three cases. There was a rock thrown the windshield of a truck on a strike, but they were indicted and convicted during that law.

There is another bill to where an individual driver driving a truck as a scab got into a fight with a picket. Lo and behold, he was indicted under that law. And then everybody began to look around. What became of this law? Where did it come from? And we found out that it was a single line out of a bill that the attorney general himself put in which everybody believed had been killed. One line. And that's how clever they do it. One lonely line. And I'll guarantee you'll sweat a long time to get that bill off of the statute.

And so, we must recognize because the newspaper gives you a story that Martinville hasn't got a chance. You notice this lately? For two years they hid the Martinville. All at once you find *The Wall Street Journal* back – on almost the last page. Small item: "Martinville hasn't got a chance." Every single release that went out – like John \_\_\_\_\_'s letter and the rest of them – "Martinville hasn't got a chance." Two days later they held a hearing. Now figure that one out, will you? Nobody was in Washington except Sid to protest the bill. We rounded out all of our friends and finally got the hearings stopped or it would have slid through as sure as you're here.

This is the game we're playing. I don't know how many of you men watched the show the other night on TV. An hour-long show. An English picture. The way they ran showing a union that was on an illegal wildcat strike and as to how the violence took place in that plant. Sabotage took place in the plant. And then finally at the end of the show a man lost his eye and then the international organization came in, the membership heckled him, booed him, and finally out of all the hour show it tapered it off, they went back to work, peaceful relationship, everybody was happy – but leaving again in the minds of the people the irresponsibility of organized labor.

Almost a month ago, if you watched the *Defenders* program, one of the most vicious shows that ever took place against organized labor was on the *Defenders* program. This was the third show inside of two years that the Defenders have had on that program against organized labor, depicting organized labor as a racket-ridden, infested operation, where their membership was beaten, abused, and had no voice in the union. Then along comes this lawyer and takes over and clears the way and gives the bright board a way to move in, how to clean the union up.

Now, all of this we told you in 1960 was going to happen because we sent out to you the minutes of the meeting that was held in New York City. And I question whether or not one percent of all of our officers in the International Union and the local unions bothered

to read that 400 pages of transcript. I doubt it because it was dry reading. But if you took time to read all of those pages and you marked those pages and then you dictated out of those marks you made in there if you understand this business, you could have boiled it down to one page. And you could have simply added it up by saying maybe four things and headed off the most dangerous operation of organized labor. One, the most well-financed scheme that was ever brought up against labor. Two, the most intelligent, dedicated men in the world to carry that scheme out. And three, the recognition that this could not happen until at least four years. They were willing to plan ahead four years. And infiltrate, propagandizing, place these programs around the country to finally get people to accept the idea of antitrust and monopoly for labor unions.

All of this is what we cannot convince our people of. Oh, yes, while the fire is going on they run with the bucket to put the fire out. The minute the fire is only smoldering and all it is is smoldering they say, "Oh, it's a lot of work. Forget about it." What they don't understand is that the fire you put out was put deliberately over here to wear you out, and in the meantime they were tearing down the entire building. And this is why we cannot rest. We cannot believe that politics is a temporary situation that will take care of itself. We cannot believe that a dinner – or a picnic, as you had with 5000 or 4000 people in Cleveland – scares a politician because he checks out how many meetings a month, how many meetings a year, how many people attended it, what are you doing in the way of finance, and if he finds it's only a flash fire people have set off he says, "Eh, forget about it." But if he finds out it's a constant, everyday drive, a constant, everyday program to push ahead no matter how slow you travel that politician will recognize this is the most dangerous thing that confronts him, which is the \_\_\_\_\_ company.

And so, you have that responsibility, particularly you directors, vice presidents, and officers of unions to set aside whatever you're doing – and I don't care what it is – set aside some – take some time to once a week make somebody report to you what is happening in your local union on DRIVE. And if that report don't come in, take time to find out why it didn't come in or what's happening. And if you do that and the people working down below you realize that you're checking on them we'll be successful. Failure to do it? I tell you as sure as I'm here we are not going to have any unions in this country. I don't know how many of you read the article. *The Wall Street Journal* had the guts to publish an article that in seven and a half years there won't be no trade unions in America. I don't know where they come up with a half year, but that in seven and a half years there will be no trade unions in America. Run it – one day it will drop right out of sight.

But think of it thus: For somebody to say that the American unions, which are American itself, in seven and a half years you'll wipe out the trade unions of America, I say less than that. I say that in 1965, unless we are politically organized and any one of these bills pass – because in every one of these bills there's a hooker – that six months after the bill passes all contracts are voided. Now if all the contracts in any one of your unions became void in six months you couldn't handle that situation. Not one of your local unions, because you haven't got that kind of manpower to handle it. Nor have you the finances. If the employer decided to fight, to carry on an overall nationwide, 1,700,000 strikes – and

this is what they're planning on – pinching our welfare – they will have bills pending in Congress now that are going to take away from you the right to determine what kind of welfare program do you have, how much pension benefits you can pay, and what investments you can make. Pending right now in Congress. No hearings scheduled. Just a number. Waiting till they get over the hump, they'll protect it two or four years, then they sign it. You're out of business.

And so, all the vice presidents who are here, all of you directors, officials of unions, and those who are willing to come to Chicago, listen, talk, remember this: When somebody starts putting roadblocks in your way in your city to stop DRIVE, unless you bring that to the attention of the vice president or the president of your council, then you're just as wrong as he is. Because he don't belong here. Oh, I hear him. It comes back to me pretty good. I'm tuned in all around the country. I know what's going on. And I tell you some of the jerks – and that's what they are – who are trying to stop DRIVE are the people who are waiting for a couple more years to take that international pension and rock and rock and rock with your money. They're out in the field. I know who they are. They're not kidding me. And as far as I'm concerned, unless they quit it, stop it, there will be charges brought against them. They will be out of this International Union. Or I'll be out of it.

*[Applause]*

And I am sick and tired, sick and tired of individuals who are so short-sighted that they can't realize what we're trying to pull in in the magazines, in the reporters, personal interviews personal meetings, that we are just about on the verge of being out of business. A man like Wayne Morris – turn this off.